

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 IO-13 ISO-00 MCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2836
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 18356

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, EAID, PINT, GW, SF, RH, WA, BC
SUBJ: AID TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS: THE POLITICAL DEBATE

SUMMARY: IN RECENT MONTHS, THE QUESTION OF FRG
ASSISTANCE TO SOUTHERN AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS
HAS BEEN A PRIME AREA OF CONTENTION BETWEEN THE
COALITION AND OPPOSITION. NO NEW POSITIONS EMERGED,
HOWEVER, DURING THE BUNDESTAG'S OCTOBER 27 DEBATE ON
DEVELOPMENT AID. THE FRG REMAINS COMMITTED TO MODEST
HUMANITARIAN AID, FUNNELED THROUGH FRONT-LINE STATES
AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, FOR REFUGEES OF THE
TURMOIL IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THERE IS NO DIRECT
ASSISTANCE TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. THE OPPOSITION
MAINTAINS, HOWEVER, THAT THESE "REFUGEES" ARE, IN
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REALITY, THE BASIS OF THE GUERILLA ARMIES AND THAT,
THEREFORE, THE FRG IS ABETTING TERRORISM. END SUMMARY.

1. THE FRG POLITICAL PARTIES, WHETHER COALITION (SPD
AND FDP) OR OPPOSITION (CDU/CSU), AGREE THAT THE
BASIC GOAL OF FRG POLICY VIS-A-VIS SOUTHERN AFRICA
SHOULD BE THE PEACEFUL SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE

PEOPLES INVOLVED. THE ISSUE DIVIDING THE PARTIES IS WHETHER THE FRG SHOULD OFFER AID AND COMFORT TO REFUGEES WHO MAY ALSO BE ACTIVE IN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS.

2. POLITICAL CONCERNS REVOLVE AROUND THE FACT THAT FRG FUNDS HAVE BEEN ALLOCATED TO FRONT-LINE STATES, UN AGENCIES, AND THE RED CROSS FOR THE BENEFIT OF REFUGEES FROM SOUTH AFRICA, NAMIBIA, AND RHODESIA. FOR EXAMPLE, THE FRG HAS ACKNOWLEDGED CONTRIBUTIONS OF NEARLY \$90,000 TO THE NAMIBIA INSTITUTE IN LUSAKA. EARLIER THIS YEAR, THE FRG DISPERSED DM 500,000 TO BOTSWANA FOR THE SELEBI PIKWE REFUGEE CAMP. SUPPORT HAS ALSO GONE TO THE INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT IN WINDHOEK, AMONG OTHERS. THE OPPOSITION HAS TAKEN THESE AND OTHER EXAMPLES TO SHOW THE FRG IS ACTIVELY AIDING LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WHICH IT CONSIDERS TO BE COMMUNIST-INFLUENCED AND TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS.

3. THE DEBATE BEGAN SIMMERING EARLIER THIS SUMMER WHEN TWO OF THE COALITION'S DEVELOPMENT AID SPECIALISTS, MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION SCHLEI (SPD) AND FORMER MINISTER EGON BAHR (SPD), NOW SPD BUSINESS MANAGER, BLURRED THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN HUMANITARIAN AID (FOOD, CLOTHING, TENTS, MEDICINE)--WHICH THE FRG WILL PROVIDE TO "REFUGEES"--AND THOSE FORMS OF AID

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WHICH MIGHT HAVE MILITARY USES (TRUCKS, COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT, ETC.) SCHLEI AND BAHR PUBLICLY STATED THAT THEY SAW NOTHING WRONG WITH PROVIDING MATERIEL OF THE LATTER TYPE TO "REFUGEES" UNDER THE RUBRIC OF HUMANITARIAN AID. THE FRG COULD NOT AND SHOULD NOT SORT OUT WHICH REFUGEES MIGHT ALSO BE INVOLVED WITH THE GUERILLAS. THE OPPOSITION'S REACTION WAS QUICK AND SHARP. SPOKESMEN FOR THE RIGHT ACCUSED SCHLEI AND BAHR OF CONTRIBUTING TO WAR IN AFRICA.

4. IN AUGUST, JUERGEN TODENHOEFER, THE OPPOSITION DEVELOPMENT AID SPOKESMAN, EMBARKED ON A TRIP TO SOUTHERN AFRICA. WHILE HE WAS THERE AND AFTER HIS RETURN, THE PRESS WAS FILLED WITH ARTICLES REPORTING TODENHOEFER'S "DISCOVERY" THAT REFUGEES BEING AIDED BY FRG-SPONSORED PROGRAMS WERE IN FACT GUERILLAS. HE CLAIMED THAT SELEBI PIKWE WAS MERELY A WAY STATION TO GUERILLA TRAINING CAMPS AND CHARGED THAT THE GOVERNMENT, THROUGH ITS SUPPORT OF THIS AND OTHER CAMPS, WAS BECOMING AN ACCOMPLICE TO MURDER. AID TO THE WINDHOEK INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT, HE CHARGED, WAS A THINLY VEILED GIFT TO SWAPO, SINCE A

SWAPO INLAND REPRESENTATIVE HEADED THE INSTITUTE.

5. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, MOST OBSERVERS ANTICIPATED

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 18356

THAT THE SCHEDULED BUNDESTAG DEBATE ON DEVELOPMENT
AID POLICY (OCTOBER 27) WOULD DETERIORATE INTO A
PARTISAN DEBATE ON BONN'S AFRICA POLICY. ALTHOUGH
MANY FRG PERSONALITIES, INCLUDING TODENHOEFER, SCHLEI,
CSU LEADER STRAUSS, BAHR AND FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER
(FDP), ET. AL., ADDRESSED THEMSELVES TO AID IN GENERAL
AND TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN PARTICULAR, NO NEW
GROUND WAS BROKEN. THE SPD CASTIGATED TODENHOEFER
FOR SLANDERING THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, CHALLENGED HIS
INFORMATION, AND IMPUGNED HIS INTEGRITY. TODENHOEFER
AND STRAUSS, ON THE OTHER HAND, REPEATED OPPOSITION
CHARGES THAT THE FRG WAS SIDING WITH TERRORISTS AND
WAS ABDICATING ITS RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROTECTING

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6. THE FRG'S POLICY TOWARD AID TO REFUGEES WAS NOT CHANGED BY THE DEBATE NOR IS IT LIKELY TO CHANGE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER, THE KEY POLITICAL FIGURE IN THE DISCUSSION, HAS OUTLINED THE FRG'S POLICY ON THE MIDDLE GROUND BETWEEN THE BAHR/SCHLEI VIEW AND THAT OF THE OPPOSITION. THE FRG CONTINUES TO REJECT THE POSSIBILITY OF SUPPLYING ARMS TO ANY LIBERATION MOVEMENT. HOWEVER, ITS HUMANITARIAN AID TO "REFUGEES" WILL BE CONTINUED. THAT AID WILL BE FUNNELED THROUGH THE FRONT-LINE STATES AND THROUGH THE VARIOUS ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS; THEREFORE, THERE IS NO WAY FOR THE FRG TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN REFUGEES AND GUERILLAS. ASSISTANCE WILL CONTINUE TO BE PROJECT-ORIENTATED AND TAKE THE FORM OF HEALTH SUPPLIES, FOOD AND SHELTER AS WELL AS GRANTS FOR EDUCATION.

7. COMMENT: SEVERAL OF OUR CONTACTS HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THEY REALIZE GERMAN AID IS FINDING ITS WAY INTO THE POCKETS OF THE GUERILLAS. THE FRG IS WILLING TO LET THIS CONTINUE, BUT IS NOT YET WILLING TO AID LIBERATION MOVEMENTS DIRECTLY. BY FILTERING ITS AID THIS WAY, THE FRG IS TRYING TO MAINTAIN A CREDIBLE FRONT WHILE BUILDING SOME GOOD WILL WITH THE FUTURE GOVERNMENTS OF NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE. OPPOSITION CHARGES THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS USING TAXPAYERS' MONEY TO FINANCE TERRORISM ABROAD WILL CONTINUE, HOWEVER, FORCING THIS AID TO REMAIN IN LESS VISIBLE CHANNELS.

OUR CONTACTS TELL US THAT GENSCHER, AMONG OTHERS, HAS
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RESERVATIONS ABOUT DOING MORE THAN THIS. NEVERTHELESS, THE MORE LIBERAL MEMBERS OF THE COALITION ARE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE PRESSING FOR MORE OPEN SUPPORT OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND SWAPO.
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